

empírica es acuciosa y novedosa, especialmente porque estudia la participación de grupos artesanales en las elecciones a partir de 1829, en la guardia cívica y en la esfera pública. Donde Wood ve una práctica de ciudadanía política con espacios de autonomía e identidad, la historiografía chilena no ha visto sino manipulación de la elite, incluidas las voces supuestamente artesanales en la prensa. Wood reconoce que no hay certeza de la autenticidad de esas voces, pero su interpretación es más interesante: lo importante es la forma en que se construye la apelación al electorado popular y su apropiación del lenguaje republicano. Sin duda es metodológicamente difícil reconstruir al actor principal de esta historia, pero si la prensa es sustantiva en la definición del movimiento popular republicano, ella debiera haber sido un objeto de estudio en sí mismo. La información es escasa, pero podría aproximarse a los espacios de circulación, a los tirajes, a las prácticas de lectura. En los hechos, la prensa es una fuente de discurso y la esfera pública es más amplia.

El libro se propone también estudiar el origen del constitucionalismo dictatorial proveniente del republicanismo conservador enraizado en la Iglesia y su red de poder. Este punto es débil, pues cae en una simplificación que no se condice con la sutileza de sus análisis sobre la tesis principal. Es débil porque la Iglesia, una vez más, aparece como un actor monolítico y no lo era. La jerarquía diocesana combatió frontalmente el liberalismo de los jóvenes “afrancesados” y la Sociedad de la Igualdad, llamándola comunista. Pero la jerarquía diocesana tenía poco poder. No controlaba al clero regalista, a las órdenes religiosas, y muy poco a las cofradías y a las instituciones de beneficencia. La Iglesia era un conjunto de cuerpos con gran autonomía y en el catolicismo había distintas corrientes. Wood sostiene que la Cofradía del Santo Sepulcro, refundada por el parlamentario Pedro Palazuelo en 1845, es el ejemplo de la estrategia de la Iglesia y su visión conservadora del orden para apelar al artesanado urbano. Pero es también el ejemplo de la simplificación. La cofradía fue refundada *en contra* del Arzobispo; Palazuelo representaba un catolicismo ilustrado, regalista, de rasgos jansenistas, y por cierto republicano. El conflicto fue tan feroz, que en el pasquín *El Mastodonte*, Palazuelo profirió insultos incluso obscenos al Arzobispo. Fue más tarde cuando la jerarquía diocesana logró una cierta centralización y control sobre las organizaciones católicas.

El principal valor de este libro es rescatar el republicanismo y la política como un espacio de participación de grupos populares. Es un texto interesante, provocador, bien escrito, original y el primero, hasta donde sé, escrito en inglés. Es un aporte a lo que el mismo autor señala como el gran dilema de la Independencia: cómo organizar la república.

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
Santiago, Chile

SOL SERRANO

Lealtad y rebeldía. La vida de Juan Pablo Wainwright. By Rina Villars. Tegucigalpa: Editorial Guaymurás, 2010. Pp. 466. Index. Photographs.

In this biography of Juan Pablo Wainwright, Rina Villars, a scholar of the history of feminism and labor struggles in her native Honduras, traces the life of an activist com-

mitted to Communist labor agitation and political organizing in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Her sympathetic portrait of a man selflessly dedicated to the idea of bringing happiness to the downtrodden draws on personal interviews, Wainwright family papers, newspapers, archives in the United States and Honduras, and Comintern files provided by the historian Erik Ching. Numerous photographs enhance the book.

Villars devotes a long early chapter to Manuel Cálix Herrera and the organization of Honduran communism in the late 1920s, disproving the established assumption that Herrera and Wainwright acted in tandem as a “mythical duo.” Thereafter, the book takes an unusual course in shifting to the second person, as if Villars’ biography were a personal letter to Wainwright. Wainwright’s early life was that of a wanderer and small-scale merchant. Son of an Englishman from Leeds and his Honduran wife, he spent much of his adolescence abroad, first with an uncle and aunt in Lawrence, Massachusetts, after the death of his mother, and subsequently as an *incansable trotamundos*, taking odd jobs and working as a sailor in various locations. After a brief service in the British Service of Royal Engineers in late World War I, he returned to Central America where he taught classes in Honduras and ran his own firm in El Salvador selling fire extinguishers and Smith Corona typewriters. He traveled extensively in Latin America and the Caribbean in 1927. In Barbados, he fathered an illegitimate son, William, whom he recognized even though he never married the mother. In 1928, the Salvadoran government expelled him from the country for political reasons, after which he set up shop in San Pedro Sula selling tobaccos, sweets, and soft drinks, eventually marrying one of his Salvadoran employees.

In 1928, for reasons that are not clear, Wainwright moved away from involvement in the electoral disputes of the traditional Honduran Conservative and Liberal parties and into the activities of the incipient Honduran Communist movement in northern Honduras. Amid efforts to organize strikes among the labor force of the banana plantations and railroads, Wainwright fell victim to the *cacería roja* (witch hunt for communists) conducted by the Honduran government with the support of the United States. Twice arrested in 1930, Wainwright managed to escape from the Castillo de Omoa prison in July 1931, after which he fled to Guatemala, only to be detained again in December in a roundup of communists by the government of Jorge Ubico. Through careful examination of the various accounts of his death the following February, Villars makes the argument that Guatemalan officials killed Wainwright after both a failed suicide attempt and his provocative insult to Ubico, which may have involved spitting in the dictator’s face.

Villars has written a deeply personal work, the product of her friendship with Wainwright’s daughter Silvia (spelled both Silvia and Sylvia in the book) and the assassination in 2007 of her own brother, a victim of the “impunity of the Honduran judicial system.” Despite these close ties to her subject, Villars remains consistently careful with her use of evidence. However, the reader learns more about the devotion of Wainwright to his family and about the minutia of family events than about Wainwright’s

activities in radical politics or the nature of his Communist convictions. His interests and educational background led him to write many movement broadsides—one newspaper termed him well versed in *teorias malsanas*—but the sources available to Villars reveal little about his specific actions in labor organizing in Honduras and nothing about his reported work with Agustín Farabundo Martí in El Salvador in late 1931. It is clear that Wainwright remained uncompromisingly devoted to the radical politics of the final years of his life, but one cannot tell if he was an effective organizer or a captive of his own idealism.

Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ARTHUR SCHMIDT

URBAN SOCIAL HISTORY

Laws of Chance: Brazil's Clandestine Lottery and the Making of Urban Public Life. By Amy Chazkel. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011. Pp. xvii, 368. Illustrations. Tables. Epilogue. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index.

Carefully crafted and theoretically informed, Chazkel's thought-provoking book joins recent works by Brodwyn Fischer and Janice Perlman to deepen our understanding of lower-class life in twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro and the important, if often misinterpreted, relationship between state and society. *Laws of Chance* focuses on the development and repression of the informal gambling criminalized as the *jogo do bicho* (animal game) during Brazil's First Republic (1889–1930).

Still ubiquitous in the city, the *jogo* involves wagering small amounts of money on one of 25 animals, each of which represents four numbers (the last two digits of the national lottery). The winning animal pays out a modest prize. Originating as a fundraiser for a private zoo in the early 1890s, the parallel lottery quickly escaped those confines and absorbed the many other informal lotteries already existing in the city. In 1895, Rio de Janeiro's municipal government defined such unlicensed gambling as illegal, thereby setting up a century-long interaction between police, bookmakers, and gamblers. Repression ebbed and flowed, and often appeared singularly ineffective; less than four per cent of those arrested were actually convicted. The *jogo* entered popular and elite culture, and bookmakers' legendary honesty—they reputedly always pay the winners—remains part of Brazilian lore and a telling critique of state agents who are far less known for this virtue.

Making sense of this contradictory story is Chazkel's main purpose in this book. Stressing the “contingency of criminality” (p. 15), she argues that “the official perception of its problematic nature was what called it [the *jogo*] into existence” (p. 12). In the 1890s, republican governments criminalized many commonplace lower-class “livelihoods and avocations . . . that threatened neither life, limb, nor private property” (p. 17) in a process that she sees as the closure of “a metaphorical common,” part of “the